of the 'old religion'. (In fact, both Joan and Gilles were accused of witchcraft.)

Margaret Murray's second book on the subject, *The God of the Witches*, appeared in 1933; it aims at presenting a popular account of her theory. In this book she lays rather more emphasis on 'the horned god', pointing out that ancient *shamans* dressed up in animal skins, and that there are many modern survivals of ancient fertility dances in which the men wear horns or antlers. This book was largely ignored when it appeared; there were more pressing problems to think about in the mid-thirties than witches and fertility cults. Republished after the war, it became a best-seller—an early sign, perhaps of the 'occult revival' that became so widespread in the sixties.

Perhaps emboldened by her sudden fame, Margaret Murray produced her third and most controversial volume in 1954, *The Divine King in England* offers a bewildering list of English kings and substitute victims who have been killed as ritual sacrifices. She manages to give the general impression that practically every famous murder in English history was connected with the witch cult. The book was generally dismissed as a crank aberration (after all, she was over ninety years old when it appeared), but the first two books continued to be highly regarded by scholars.

Tom Lethbridge knew Margaret Murray at Cambridge; he liked her personally, and was inclined, on the whole, to accept her views on the 'ancient religion'. His attitude was not shared by many of his colleagues—he has described how various petty indignities were visited on her at Cambridge. *Gogmagog*, like the later *Witches*, takes it for granted that Margaret Murray is fundamentally correct. This was why the controversy around *Gogmagog* became so acrid.

Lethbridge concludes that the central figure on the Wandlebury hillside—the woman surmounted by the crescent moon—was the moon goddess *and* the earth mother. Gog, her consort, is the sun god. (In Leland's *Aradia*, the moon goddess's consort is Lucifer, the light-bringer.) He goes on to argue that in Celtic and many other ancient religions, the oak tree is the symbol of the sun. Hence its importance for the Druids. The berries of the mistletoe symbolise the moon, because they look like small moons. The Druids cut them with a golden sickle, symbolising the sun, when they found them growing on an oak tree. What could be a better augury of fertility than the symbol of the earth goddess growing on the tree of the sun god?

Although Druidism came to England around 600 BC with the Celts, Lethbridge believed that other forms of the 'ancient religion' existed here for centuries before that. We know that the Druids on the Continent sent their novices to study with the English Druids, which suggests that an older and purer form of the religion existed in England. We know the Druids claimed magical powers, to foretell the future, change bodily shape, cast spells to cause death and lunacy ('moon-sickness'), and induce invisibility, in fact, most of the powers that witches were later believed to possess. The human sacrifices were almost certainly fertility rituals, with the firelight symbolising sun-light, as Frazer suggested. For the ancients, sunlight was all important, the source of fertility. Darkness was evil. When eclipses of the sun and moon occurred, primitive man believed the powers of darkness were attempting to destroy the powers of light, and the earliest religious rituals were intended to aid the sun against his enemy. (Some African tribes still beat pots to aid the sun during an eclipse.)

This explains why the 'old religion' was so indestructible in country areas. It was not simply a matter of loyalty to old gods, but of genuine belief that if they ceased to perform the fertility ritual, there would be no crops. Even today, many country folk believe that crops can be improved or blasted by witchcraft.

Gogmagog is the only one of Lethbridge's later books that contains no reference to 'occult' matters; he seems tacitly to accept Margaret Murray's view that the magical side of witchcraft is pure superstition. If he had remained at Cambridge, he might well have continued to accept this view, in spite of his experience of ghosts, 'ghouls' and poltergeists. But when the Lethbridges moved to Hole House in Devon, the first person they met was the 'witch' who lived next door.

Then there was the interesting coincidence that the moor above Hole House was called Lugmoor. Lug, or Lugh, was the Celtic sun god, whose name is obviously related to Lucifer. Even the name 'Bran' in Branscombe was another name for Lugh, after he had changed himself into a raven (that famous witches' bird).

It is interesting to wonder why Lucifer, the angel of light, should have been identified with the devil. The story is not—as most people assume—in the Bible. Isaiah 14 contains the well-known lines: 'How are you fallen to earth, O day star, son of the dawn' (in Hebrew, *helel*